1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

[137] *ariyeri*, the oleander. This plant is important in the manufacture of magical concoctions. [189] Laoust [1] and Justinard [2] support this identification.

[263] *tuzelt*, a bush resembling a high-bush blueberry. It bears a red pod, like a rose-pod, which is eaten. Laoust [3] calls this *Fraxinus dimorpha*.

[314] *aghanim*, a reed, used extensively in basket making. Laoust supports this identification.[4]

tharuqwith, a bush with a red flower, much frequented by bees.

[278] *zui*, a bush bearing a white flower, with peppery-tasting leaves. The latter are used as medicine for stomach-ache.

[363] *t-knuafer*, a bush or low tree which produces a bud resembling a clove. The buds are put into tea as a spice, and are used as a stomach-ache cure for children.

[278] *azir*, a bush the leaves of which are used in the brewing of a tea alleged to be beneficial in fever.

isarshi, forsythia. Women cut pieces of its stem and tie them in their belts to prevent boils. This identification is purely personal and lacks confirmation.

[262] *thakhfa*, a wild rose, the pods of which are sometimes eaten in times of famine. Hanoteau and Letourneau [5] give *Rosa sempervirens* for the Kabyle *thaqfert*.

Luxurious forests of conifers are said by the inhabitants of the country to have once covered most of the region, but today they are confined to the mountains of Beni Bu Nsar, Taghsuth, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Ktama, Zarket, and the upland reaches of Mtiwa. Patches of this forest remain on Mt. Kuin in Gzennaya, in parts of Beni Amart, at Aswil, where the Nekor passes from the Gzennaya into Beni Urriaghel, and on the crests of Beni Tuzin. The *taidha* grows chiefly in the Senhajan tribes, but the *thuya* is found not only there but also farther to the east, in Gzennaya and Beni Tuzin.

After climbing from the hot barrenness of the eastern Rif, one finds the forests of the Senhaja Sghir most beautiful and satisfying. On the mountain between Beni Bu Nsar and Taghsuth, it is difficult to realise that one is in Morocco. The whole of this section reminds one of temperate forests, such as are found in the northern United States and Canada; especially is this true in the long, flat plateau-valley of Beni Seddath, where a lush meadow is variegated with frequent clumps of *taidha*. Even in midsummer this region retains an exhilarating chilliness of atmosphere. (See plate 1.)

CLIMATE

132 The slopes of the Mediterranean border of this region are rugged, mostly deforested, hillsides, with a climate similar to northern Mexico or our own Southwest. Farther to the east, in the tribes of Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, and parts of Galiya, the country becomes rolling and its slope relatively gentle, and grain is grown on it without terracing or irrigation. Farther south, however, stretches the arid expanse of the Garet, that waterless 137 waste whereon the Metalsa and Beni Yahyi shift about from camp to camp. This desert stretches into parts of Beni Said and Galiya, and oversteps the boundary of Beni Ulishk and Tafersit. Here in the Garet grows a sparse crop of grass, and quantities of that coarse grass called *halfa*, resembling our own marsh or beach grass, from which the nomadic peoples, and the Gzenpaya and other Riffians as well, make sandals, pack-saddles, ropes, and all sorts

- containers.

[1] Page 484. [2] Page 486. [3] Page 136. [4] Page 48. [5] Pages 493, 498.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The gathering of wild vegetable products is traditionally considered to antedate agriculture. Tales are told of the times when the Riffians subsisted on these products and game alone. In Ktama, where agriculture is difficult, the gathering of wild plants, especially *tuzelt*, forms an important occupation. At the end of winter, when the dried fruit is gone and when the larders are low, many Riffian families would die of hunger if their womenfolk did not go out on the mountain slopes and up the watercourses looking for these natural foods.

The green plants, such as watercress and asparagus, are subject to a dietary sex tabu. Woman only may eat them. The reason given for this distinction is that they produce blood, fat, and soft flesh, desirable in women but not in men.

Mulberries and cherries were probably introduced by the Arabs and later abandoned. Mulberries are not considered good food and are seldom eaten except through necessity. Tomatoes were probably introduced from Spain and then given up.

Cultivation of Fruit and Nut Trees and of Vineyards. *zilon* (male), *misola* (female), the domestic olive tree. The male tree produces large olives low in oil content, which are preserved in lemon juice and eaten as a relish. The fruit of the female tree is pressed into oil. As a rule all the male trees in an olive yard are cut down with the exception of one, which is left to fertilise the female trees. The olives are called by the names of the trees which bear them.

arman, the pomegranate tree. The Riffians recognize sex differences in pomegranates, considering that the fruit with a thick skin and large, hard seeds in the granules is produced by the male tree, whereas the better fruit is produced by females. As a rule, the male trees are all cut down but one, which is left for fertilizing the others. Sometimes male trees are left, so that the fruit may be sold in markets frequented by people unacquainted with the difference. The fruit and tree bear the same name.

er ghas, the fig tree. There are four varieties of fig trees, *aseiri*, *aghudani*, *awar n akai*, and *abaran*. The fruit borne by the *aseiri* is round, with longitudinal purple and green lines; that of the *aghudani* is long, pear-shaped, and purple; that of the *awar n akai* is round and light green. There are two varieties of *abaran*, one of which is round and green and the other long with black or purple lines. The three first varieties bear twice a year, in June and in September. The June figs, called *er bashor*, are eaten but not dried, except for use as medicine, since they contain but little sugar. The September figs, called *thezalk*, are dried. The *abaran* varieties bear only in September. The Riffians say that the *abaran* types are the only indigenous strains, and that the *aseiri* and *awar n akai* came originally from the Arabs, whereas the *aghudani* is derived from the Negroes.

shukwar, a wild fig. Planted, it is said, by birds that have eaten cultivated figs, this fruit is useless for eating, but is employed for magical purposes. Each year the women and children go out and gather the wild figs when ripe, tie them together in pairs with grass, and hang them on the branches of the domesticated fig trees. There are said to be insects in the wild figs which come out and touch the buds of the domestic figs. It is thought that if these wild figs were not so hung and if the insects from them did not touch the buds, the cultivated figs would not bear.[1]

[1] Westermarck (p. 190) states that the Riffians hang male figs in female trees, in order to fertilise their fruit. A small insect, *Blastophaga grossorum*, bores in and out of the figs, fertilizing them. Westermarck refers to Elfving's *De Viktigaste Kulturväxterna* (Helsingfors, 1885), p. 74.

1:Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East M1
Shluh
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themselves appointed qā'id. With imperial sanction and modern rifles, they conquered tribe after tribe, dissolving the assemblies and setting out khalīfas and shaikhs in the neighboring valleys to carry out their orders.

These qā'ids settled down into three houses, those of the Glawi, Gundafi, and Mtugi, reading from east to west along the Atlas. (The family of the Glawi, now in its third generation, is headed by the powerful el Ḥajj Thāmi [Tihāmi], also pasha of Marrakesh.) These three absolute autocrats have so crushed the mountaineers under their control that only the oldest remember the earlier system of government. Each of them has a huge fortress, strategically located near the crest of the divide, as for example that of Telwet, which is the Glawi's stronghold. Inside high walls are a number of castles, with an inner court. Great granaries hold the tribute brought by the farmers; dungeons hide the starving bodies of bandits captured on the roads. Mountain Jews and Negro retainers throng the courtyard, and privileged visitors (I was one in 1927) eat in the guest chambers.

Delegating power to the three great qā'ids is one way of ruling without effort. These men, controlling private armies, could make or break sultans, and they have also figured in the politics of the French Protectorate in a fashion similar to the fabulously wealthy princes of India under the British. Robert Montagne speaks with feeling when he states that Native Affairs officers were able to take over the direction of the small confederation of Ida U Tanan before the Mtugi could swallow it.

Ruling by delegating power to a local autocrat is something new in Morocco, but farther east it is an old system, which we have already seen in operation in western Asia; this is the way both Romans and Sassanian Persians controlled the Nabatean Arabs. This is also the way that the shahs of Iran (when they have been strong enough) have dealt with the Bakhtiari and other tribesmen. The Iranian tribesmen, however, have a reason for unity, the need for order in their annual migration. The Shluh need no more unity than they had in 1860, at the price they have paid for it. What the French think of this system is not easy to discover.

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By now the reader is ready to join me in entering the Rif, as I first did in 1926, the year of 'Abd el-Krīm's surrender. On the way into the tribe of Gzennaya we noticed that our dog was growing ill. He

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East

Ref m2

[278] soon died. Someone had poisoned him, not out of malice but as part
813 of a scientific experiment—to test a new batch of poison before using it on the intended human victim. This feeling for science is strong among the Riffians. Once in a local feud a warrior shot a hydrocephalic opponent, not because he was a dangerous foe but in order to see what was inside his head. At great risk of life the warrior crawled over an exposed bank to retrieve the body. With his kinsmen he carried it to the mosque, where the schoolmaster trephined the grotesque skull. Draining out some of the liquid, he tasted it with his finger. "It is a little salty," he said. Then they all went back to their fighting.

133 The village where this took place was hardly a village at all, since it
361 consisted of only thirteen houses in 1926. These were scattered along
621 both sides of the small but tumultuous mountain stream called the Water of Iherrushen, just above where it joined a larger river, the Bayu, which flowed swiftly out of a perpendicular-walled canyon. As one sees this country from above, the flattest ground is near the crest of the divide; consequently the villages are more frequent here than where it is steeper lower down. The upstream people also get the first use of the water, vital for irrigation.

346 If we look closely we will see that one of the houses is a mosque.
368 It has no minaret, but a white flag flying from the roof peak pro-
173 claims its holy purpose, which the whitewash on the porch and
621 around the outer rims of the windows confirms. Legend has it that the ancestor of the inhabitants of this village, one 'Abd el-Mumin (in Arabic al-Mu'min, from whom they and the village derive their name, Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin) walked up the waters of the Iherrushen one afternoon just as the sun was setting over the divide to the west, his wife and his cow and his dog wading with him. Silhouetted against the sunlight he saw this mosque, newly built and empty, its door open, standing before him. Faced with this miracle he scuffed off the grass sandals with which he had been protecting his feet from the sharp stones, and entered the holy place to pray. He and his sons hewed and walled terraces along the valley, felled some trees and planted others, and all lived peacefully until the valley was full and men fell to quarreling over fruit trees, women, and water.

621 The twelve houses which we saw held ten men with their thirteen
595 wives, nineteen sons, and fifteen daughters. That three men had two wives at once is no wonder, since six out of nine of their fathers